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LUCIFER.

THE LIGHT-BEARER.

THIRD SERIES, VOL. V., No. 49. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, DEC. 19, E. M. 301. [C. E. 1901.] WHOLE No. 896

TO MAKE MEN FREE.

To make men free has been the dream
Of every noble soul on earth—
To bring a better time to birth;
To see the future's hills agleam
With the first holy light
Of a new era bright,
From which the human night
Of ages speeds away,
Its sable folds withdrawn
Before the golden dawn,
Where earth goes rolling on,
Into the grander day.

To make men free from court and throne,
Free from the money-changer's greed,
Free from hypocrisy and creed,
Free from the dreaded lash of need,
And free to reap where they have sown,
Free from earth's scourge, the conqueror,
Free from the murderous lust of war;
Free from the robber's cry of more,
And free to have their own;
Free voluntarily to share
Their blessings for the common good,
Free to each other's burdens bear
In helpfulness and brotherhood;
Free in security to live
And seek the blessings of content;
Free in the freedom love can give;
The freedom of enlightenment!

To make men free! It is with me
The dearest purpose of my heart,
That I may know and do my part
To speed the cause of Liberty;
My energy and life to be
Made consecrate to the one theme,
The single purpose and the dream,
In every land to make men free—
To make men free! —*J. A. B.*

Crime and Criminals; or, the Problems Presented by Anti-Social Acts.*

BY E. C. WALKER.

Herbert Spencer says: "In proportion as we love truth more and victory less, we shall become anxious to know what it is which leads our opponents to think as they do. We shall begin to suspect that the pertinacity of belief exhibited by them must result from perception of something we have not perceived."

If I am not positive tonight, if I do not zealously advocate a theory and undoubtingly offer a panacea, it is because I realize, in the spirit of Spencer's thought, that there are many sides to and factors in this problem. But a very few of them can be examined, even in summary, at this time, so I shall try to confine myself to the consideration of the question, What shall be done with the men and women who commit deeds universally recognized in our civilization as anti-social, as criminal?

This is our most intricate and painful social problem, even when many of its economic, sumptuary, and ethical parts are excised. My purpose is to deal only with the crimes of individuals, or very small groups of individuals, those acts which generally are accepted as invasive, inimical to personal safety, destructive of peace and security in society, for no advance toward a solution of the problem of social defense and the reformation of the criminal can be made while we are fundamentally divided as to what is crime and who is the criminal.

To this end, I wish to leave out of particular consideration on the present occasion, as causes of crime,

First. The vast mass of industrial spoliation and the equally vast mass of blundering waste in the use of external nature. Each of these constitutes a great problem in itself and is receiving the attention of large numbers of persons. But neither of these evils, enormous as it is, is so complicated as is the other segment of the whole question, the segment which I wish you to help me examine now.

Second. So also we will leave to one side the thousands of offenses against the law which are created by prohibitory statutes, license regulations, Sunday edicts, tariff restrictions (from the last-named comes smuggling and undervaluation of imports), and "moral" (sexual) enactments. Many of the victims of these various kinds of misdirected effort will be found in the classes of criminals which are under our present inspection, but now we need to consider them only as offenders against other individuals, not regarding their position as effects of removable causes, causes that may have started them toward the way in which they are now stumbling.

Third. Neither shall I consider war, which is organized and wholesale appropriation and destruction of property and infliction of torture and death, in connection with this question of personal crime. Until economic mal-adjustment and spoliation until waste of natural resources, until paternal moral legislation, until war, are approximately as unpopular with the masses of the people as the anti-social acts of individuals are now we shall not be in a position to calmly and improvingly examine our relations to criminals, in so far as their wrong-doing might be directly and consciously traced to monopoly, general ignorance, invasive legislation, and war. The best we can do, in a practical way, is to examine the position, influence, and probable future of those who are designated criminals by the consensus of the people's voices, leaving to a more enlightened time the deeper probing for causes and a more accurate and just classification. Said in another way—while doing all we can to secure that deeper probing and that more just classification, we, as practical and humane men and women, have to face a very near and vital issue, What shall we do with, what shall we do for, how shall we guard ourselves against, those individuals whom public opinion and the law agree in classing as criminals, as anti-social beings? We believe there will be an almost incalculable diminution in the number of these social offenders in the "sweet by-and-by," when there is more justice, more liberty

*Read at Dinner of Sunrise Club, Dec. 9, 1901.

among men, when War has sheathed his dripping sword, but we are living in the Now, and it is with the conditions of this day, not of the Twenty-fifth century that we must deal. So long as there is a great difference of opinion regarding monopoly, wastefulness, paternalism, and war, so long as the people are herded into parties on such issues, so long as political campaigns are fought to determine which view shall prevail—the affirmative or the negative as to the unwisdom or criminality of monopoly, or paternalism, or war—so long will it be impossible to dispassionately and profitably discuss these matters as parts of the criminal problem. We must continue to regard them as general sociological problems, concerning which equally earnest and good men and women may differ. So long as this wide disagreement persists, each person can present his or her view and the arguments in support of it, but until the controlling forces in society agree that a given act inveighed against by one or a hundred of us is a crime, an anti-social act, we can *do* nothing.

In other words, there are two stages in the study and treatment of crimes and criminals. In the first stage, we have to determine *what* is crime and *who* are criminals. In the second stage—having named our crimes and found our criminals—we proceed to discuss the questions, What shall we do with these criminals? How shall we stop the commission of these crimes? Manifestly, we can not ask *these* questions in other than an academic way as regards the deeds of monopolists, of wasters of nature's riches, of paternal moralists, of warring nations. We have not yet educated the moving forces in society to look upon these actions as crimes, upon their doers as criminals.

Thus it comes to pass that I wish you tonight to confine your attention and remarks to the second stage of criminal study. Let us leave out of consideration for this time all partisan contentions as to what are crimes and who are criminals and take cognizance only of those delinquencies about which there is practically no disagreement. Even when thus restricted, the subject is altogether too extensive and involved to be settled in a hundred years of serious and unimpassioned consideration.

There is substantial agreement that non-national killing is murder, is anti-social, is a crime; that non-legalized rape is a most serious offense; that arson, that train-wrecking, that kidnaping, are atrocious wrongs; that theft, in its various forms, is a grave denial of the toiler's right to the products of his toil. No political parties exist to defend these actions; no political campaigns are conducted with these for issues. The race, as we know it here, has reached practical agreement that all these are anti-social acts, are crimes, and that the perpetrators are not mere political heretics, are not simply misdemeanants, but are criminals. As regards these actions, then, we are in the second stage of the study of criminology. Now we may legitimately ask, What shall be done with these offenders? What shall we do to reduce their capacity for harm, to protect other individuals against them, to reform them, to prevent other men and women being affected for evil by their example?

Having indicated the parts of the great social problem which it is *not* my intention to attempt to examine here and now, having shown, in the shortest possible way, the offenses which the people of our day and country generally agree in classing as criminal, having accepted as proper subjects of study those individuals whose anti-social acts are universally condemned, and without going "behind the returns" to ask what sort of lives these persons might have led in a different society, I recur to and repeat the real question of this hour, How shall we act toward these offenders against the property, persons, and lives of others?

I have to confess to you that I do not know, that I do not pretend to know. My purpose is to counsel with you as serious, humane, candid men and women. Every scheme proffered as a solution proves, on fair and full examination, to, be no solution, or, at best, but a partial solution of some small part of the problem. There are so many factors to be taken into account, so many moral, economic, psychological, and personal elements to be considered and weighed, that [illegible] found impossible to reach a satisfactory conclusion, even a half-way or a merely tentative, conclusion.

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Even should we narrow this discussion still more by leaving out all reference to crimes caused by economic wrongs and ignorance of world statesmanship, and even should we ignore the "labor" difficulty found in the maintenance and employment of prisoners, and so find ourselves facing only the difficulties presented by the crimes of violence springing from envy, jealousy, revenge, and other passions, and crimes such as embezzlement, forgery, malfeasance, and the like, which are inspired by greed and avarice, by gambling on a large scale, by extravagance and love of display, we should still be at our wits' end to find a way to be at once effective in defense against and consistent and humane in our treatment of criminals.

Contrasting the present with the past, we see that enormous gain has been made in the direction of humanity in the treatment of social offenders. Even the worst prisons and the horrible convict camps of some of the states are almost immeasurably better than the best prisons of past centuries and of some countries today. Physical torture, using the word torture in its chief sense, has vanished except, perhaps, in sporadic cases, and in general prisoners are well fed and do not suffer from cold. There are exceptions, in some states and in some prisons in other states, but the strong and dominating tendency everywhere is toward the putting of all prisons on the level of the best.

But this is saying far less than we, with our rising ideals, wish we could say. What effect upon the future convicts have our methods of restraint and care? The man who comes out of prison—what chance has he to remain out for the rest of his life? How does the public look upon the convict? What reception does it accord to him when he again stands among free men? More particularly and pertinently, what do you and I say and do if we come into immediate contact with him in the concrete and the singular? What effect have the associations of the prison upon the first-term prisoner?

(*Concluded next week.*)

From the Socialistic Viewpoint.

In the editorial—"Socialism and Anarchy" published in Lucifer, No. 892, you did much to confirm a view that I have held for some time: That Anarchists are quite ignorant of the political doctrine known as Socialism.

The editorial was based upon an article from the "Chicago Chronicle" representing the Socialists of that city as resolving to take sides with the Anarchists against the forces now in control of society and declaring that this resolution showed the essential connection between Socialism and Anarchy.

The editor's remarks upon this article tending to endorsement of the idea of an essential connection between the two doctrines, as well as the inadequate definition of Socialism which he quotes, leave that doctrine of which I am an humble advocate very unfairly represented. It is my purpose to show that Anarchism and Socialism are essentially opposed to each other and that their followers cannot consistently work together save in fighting for some common right; such as freedom of speech or of the press—necessary to each for the propagation of their respective doctrines; and this I opine is the measure of the co-operation with Anarchists contemplated by the Socialists of Chicago.

Modern Socialism, according to Frederick Engels, one of the founders of the doctrine, is, in its essence, the direct product of the recognition, on the one hand, of the class antagonisms existing in the society of today, between proprietors and non-proprietors, between capitalists and wage-workers; on the other hand of the *Anarchy* existing in production.

Note that Engels considered the present industrial situation a condition of Anarchy for which Socialism was the remedy. Anarchy in industry is in direct opposition to Socialism in industry.

That Engels was right in calling the present capitalist methods of production Anarchy is fully proven by the article from the pen of Benj. R. Tucker, "The Goal of Anarchism," published in Lucifer No. 888. In this article it is clearly stated that Anarchy demands the competitive methods of production and

distribution; methods which Socialists denounce as "planless production and industrial war," (see platform upon which Debs ran for president.)

Anarchists teach that all forms of oppression originate in and are maintained by the government or central organization of society. That to do away with government is to do away with most of the evils that afflict society.

Scientific Socialists teach that all political, religious and social institutions of a given period, find their origin and explanation, in the mode of production and exchange prevailing at that time. If this theory is correct then governments, or political institutions, cannot be the primary source of the evils complained of, since it is itself a product of a pre-existing cause viz., the economic system.

But the point of evident divergenee between Socialism and Anarchy is in the methods they use to bring about their respective ideals of "Free Society" on the one hand and the "Co-operative Commonwealth" on the other.

The scientific Socialist has before him a clear definite policy which he follows year in and year out; that is to educate the workers to a knowledge of their rights and power, and to organize them into a class-conscious political party with which to capture the machinery of the government and with the power thus acquired, transform our industrial condition, from a capitalistic system, under which the despoiling of the worker is a necessity, to a collectivist system under which the worker would receive his entire product.

The Anarchist, on the contrary, will have nothing to do with political parties. He refuses to vote, and in many instances to serve on juries or perform other functions of citizenship. Refusing the use of the ballot-box by which peaceful changes in the policy of the country may be made he is left no recourse but to endure what he believes to be unjust, or vainly appeal to force. And as his hatred of authority is so great that he could not organize a rebellion (an army to be efficient must have unquestioning obedience of the rank und file to the leaders) individual assassination beeomes his only active method of protesting against existing institutions. The result of such methods are too well known to call for comment here.

The Socialist cries to the workingman "The only real power you have is your power at the polls! Go to the ballot-box and vote your class interests!"

The Anarchist cries "Beware of the ballot-box! The election game is in the hands of your enemies and the dice are loaded!" Can there be any doubt which cry the capitalist would have the worker heed? If the workingman would only voluntarily eliminate himself from among the factors of political control it would save the capitalist a great deal of trouble by removing what is at present a perpetual menace to his position. But as the worker will not do this the capitalists are quietly devising schemes to relieve him of the burden of the ballot. Witness the suffrage restrictions lately enacted in the South.

To sum up—The economic ideal of Anarchists' "Free competition," is diametrically opposed to the economic ideal of Socialists—"The Co-operative Commonwealth." To achieve his ideal, the Anarchist seeks to destroy the political state. This very state will be the means, the instrument by which the Socialist will usher in the Co-operative Commonwealth. Seeking the abolition of the state Anarchists perform the duties of citizenship only under protest. Seeking to control the state Socialists gladly perform and urge others to perform the full duties of citizenship.

In conclusion I would urge Anarchists, and all other persons really desirous of understanding Scientific Socialism, to read "Socialism—Utopian and Scientific" by Frederick Engels. On page 76 of the cheap edition there is this consolation for the Anarchist: "The first act by virtue of which the state really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a state. State interference in social relations become, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The state is not "abolished." *It dies out.*

"Socialism—Utopian and Scientific" can be obtained of Lucifer.

J. D. WILHITE.

Vallejo, Cal.

American Press-Writers' Association.

NOTES FOR THE WEEK ENDING DEC. 7.

Anti-vaccination has been the leading subject with the Press Writers this week, and Dr. R. S. Clymer has been the leading writer. His appearences on that line as reported this week have been in Rockland, (Mass.) "Free Press" Nov. 26; "Pioneer Press" Nov. 30; "Post Telegram" (Camden N. J.) Nov. 25; "New Democrat" (Belleville, Ill.) Nov. 30. T. J. Small, Geo. B. Wheeler, F. Wm. E. Cullingford and Francis B. Livesey appeared on the same line with Dr. Clymer in Camden, N. J. papers and W. C. Knowlton in the Gardner, (Mass.) "News" Nov. 25.

Hindsboro (Ill.) "News," Nov. 29, prints a two and a half column tribute to the memory of Mrs. Elizabeth B. Barnes from the pen of her bereaved husband Dr. J. C. Barnes. Dr. Barnes also got a good letter on Anarchism in the Chicago "Chronicle."

Mabel Gifford is heard from this week in the big "Cincinnati Enquirer" in defense of free land. Francis B. Livesey on Nov. 29 appeared in "Baltimore World" on Roosevelt and Anarchists and in the "Texas World" Nov. 30, on Czolgosz Denied a Christian Chance. There has also been much activity in other lines.

NEW MEMBERS.

181 c. Langston, Mrs. Laura J., Paonia, Delta Co., Colo.
182 c. de Crane, Mrs. Frederica A., Lake City, Iowa.
183 b. Griswold, L. DeWitt, Kingston, N. Y.
184 a. Evans. Frank C., Box 10, Denver, Colo.
185 a. Miller, Robert, 1133 24th. St. N. W. Washington, D. C.
186 b. Heymoolen, A., Verdi, Lincoln Co., Minn.

CORRECTIONS.

6 5 a. Gilbert, J. M. 407 S. Jefferson Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
92 a. Lewis, Albert P., 4 Roudlett Place, Roxbury, Mass.
127 c. Pepper, Mrs. Myra, 1329 East 16th. St., Kansas City, Mo.
155 e. Twitchell, E. H. Name withdrawn.

New members are coming in every day. Send all applications to,

A. C. ARMSTRONG, 17 Leroy St., Dorchester Mass.

Are Interests of Employer and Employe Mutual?

"I have stood by the open excavation of the new underground railroad in New York City, looking at the men digging. They have told me they got $2 a day for fair days when the work could go on. Living is expensive in New York. These are not the submerged; they are the men of brawn and health. They are the 'labor.'

"I have gone through the corridors of the fashionable hotels at midnight hours and looked on the diners and winers, the evening dress of men and women, with liveried waiters obsequiously serving the viands of all lands.

"These are the 'employers.'

"Are the interests of the two classes mutual? Can easy-going optimism conjure up any relation between the two? Can any bridge span the chasm between them?

"When I go through our factories and see fine, able-bodied, dextrous, earnest men working nine hours every day and every year a lifetime through, fashioning the uncouth raw material of wood and metal and marble into house material, I ask myself, 'Will the "laborer" have any of these polished and luxurious appliances in the home of his family or will they only go into the houses of the well-to-do, the mansions of the rich, the "employer" class?' Are the interests of the laborer and the capitalist mutual in this work?

"I know full well that many will say that money payment settles the whole score; but even if that were so, is there any mutality when one makes and the other enjoys?"—*Bishop Potter.*

Lucifer, the Lightbearer

M. HARMAN, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

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Quote Fair, Socialists!

On last Sunday eve the writer of these lines listened to an earnest and eloquent address by one of the leading Socialist orators of Chicago, Thomas J. Morgan. His main contention seemed to be that there are but two classes of people in the world, Socialists and Anarchists. That our present and popular methods of doing business, by which the few exploit and rob the many, are the methods of Anarchy, while the ideal Co-operative Commonwealth, in which the worker gets all he earns and he who does nothing gets nothing, is the ideal of Socialism.

In this week's issue is found a somewhat extended article by J. D. Wilhite of California, in which the same ground is taken as to the meaning of terms, and in which article Anarchists generally and Lucifer's editor in particular, are charged with ignorance in regard to Socialism and Socialists. Frederick Engels is quoted by Mr. Wilhite as authority for the statement that "the present industrial situation is a condition of Anarchy, for which Socialism is the remedy."

* * *

Not as an Anarchist, or partisan of any kind, but simply as a lover of fairness, of justice and of truthfulness, I would say that while freely granting to Friends Morgan, Wilhite and Engels the right to use language in any way that pleases them, I still think it would be better to stick a little nearer to the original meaning of words, to say nothing of the usual or commonly accepted meanings. If these gentlemen choose to say that the natural color of the Ethiopian is WHITE and that of Caucasian BLACK, all right! We shall all know hereafter what they mean when they say black or white.

"Define your terms," said the great Voltaire, "else there's no use arguing."

But while freely admitting the right of all men to define terms to suit themselves I strenuously object to the very common practice of making your opponent say what he did NOT say, in order to gain a point—as when Friend Wilhite refers to the article in Lucifer entitled "The Goal of Anarchism" as proof "that Engels was right in calling the present capitalist methods of production Anarchy." Our correspondent did not say in so many words that "Anarchy demands the [present] competitive methods of production and distribution," but this is just what most readers, if not all, would infer from his reference.

In answer to the questions—asked by those who followed Warren and Proudhon,

Why all prices do not fall to labor cost?

Where is there any room for incomes acquired otherwise than by labor?

Why does the usurer, the receiver of interest, rent and profit exist?—Mr. Tucker says:

"The answer was found in the present one-sidedness of competition. It was discovered that capital had so manipulated legislation that unlimited competition is allowed in supplying productive labor, thus keeping wages down to the starvation point, or as near it as practicable; that a great deal of competition is allowed in supplying distributive labor, or the labor of the mercantile classes, thus keeping, not the prices of goods, but the merchant's actual profits on them, down to a point somewhat approximating equitable wages for the merchant's work; but that almost no competition at all is allowed in supplying capital, upon the aid of which both productive and distributive labor are dependent for their power of achievement, thus keeping the rate of interest on money and of house-rent and ground-rent at as high a point as the necessities of the people will bear.

* * *

Mr. Tucker then proceeds to show, as had been shown before by many of his predecessors, that it is not competition that causes those who do the hardest work to get the least reward for their labor, but the DENIAL of competition, the defeat of competition, through legislative interference with the equal right of all to a share of nature's opportunities—giving to a few what belongs to all.

In other words Mr. Tucker shows that it is the socialistic and partialistic features of political governments that produce the terrible inequalities—the pauperism and overwork on the one hand, and the superfluous wealth and idleness on the other.

If our readers care to see and read for themselves, they can find in the article The Goal of Anarchism, incondensed form but very clearly stated, how it is that competition is denied and defeated by the State-Socialistic laws in regard to money, land, trade (tariffs) and patents (monopoly of ideas.)

* * *

Speaking for myself alone, I see very little difference between the goal of Philosophic Anarchism and that of Scientific Socialism. They both mean

LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL

and privileges for none.

In his lectures in Chicago last winter the most distinguished authority on modern Socialism—if there be such authority—Prof. Herron frequently said that to him "Socialism is not a goal but a ROAD;" and that goal, as I understood him, is Perfect Individual Liberty—which, as all know, is also the goal of Anarchism.

Out of the "fifty-seven kinds of Socialism" there is one only that to my mind leads to the Co-operative Commonwealth, and that is

VOLUNTARY SOCIALISM.

Between Voluntary Socialism and Philosophic Anarchism there seems the difference 'twixt tweedledum and tweedledee, no more.

* * *

THE BALLOT-BOX.

Speaking of Anarchistic methods our critic says, "Refusing the use of the ballot-box, by which peaceful changes in the policy of the country may be made he is left no recourse but to endure what he believes to be unjust, or vainly appeal tof orce."

Did our Socialistic friends ever hear of the saying, The Pen is mightier than the Sword? The pen is but a symbol of the power of public opinion intelligently directed. It is his silent yet all-powerful engine that the entrenched hosts

of despotism fear, far more than they fear cannon-balls, bayonets, dynamite bombs, cartridge boxes or ballot-boxes. So long as they can prevent the pen from getting in its work, so long as the masses of fighters with ballots or bullets can be prevented from reading the literature of Anarchism—the literature of liberty and justice, just so long the continuance of their power is assured—just so long the reign of official plunder and legalized murder will continue to curse mankind.

Logically then, sensibly then, the main care and effort of the Archons—the rulers in church and state—is expended in keeping the people ignorant, prejudiced and blinded as to the true aims and doctrines of Anarchists and Socialists.

If Anarchists and Socialists can be provoked or persuaded to take part in deeds of violence, or in the battles of the ballot-box, they then cease to be sources of terror to the ruling classes. If Anarchists and Socialists resort to violence the armies, the navies and the arsenals of the world are ready to crush them:—incidentally giving these armies and navies the needed excuse for drawing their pay from the working masses.

If Anarchists and Socialists vote and submit to the arbitrament of the ballot the Archists know full well that the game of voting is in their own hands, and if by any chance it should slip out of their hands they know they still have the armaments of the world to fall back on—as the western gambler when beaten at cards, draws his pistol, saying, "Gentlemen, here is a card that always wins!"

* * *

Has it ever been otherwise when the existence of the "State" itself has been threatened?

What is The State, anyway?

The French King struck it right when he said, "I am the State!"

That is, the state is simply the man or the men who administer the invisible, intangible thing called "the government," sometimes in accord with certain rules called "laws" or "constitutions"—mere figments of the brain with less substance than the BREATH of the men who make them—but often without these formalities, and in defiance of these formalities; as witness the doings of our present Post-office department!

In other words, and in still truer words, the state is simply

THE SPOILS OF OFFICE,

both the direct, the frank and the open spoils but still more the indirect, the partially concealed or wholly concealed spoils of office—the PRIVILEGES enjoyed by the rulers and their special friends, their unofficial pets and backers, together constituting, as they do, the "ruling classes."

* * *

Was not the historian Ridpath in the right when he wrote, "The iron jaws which close on the marrow bone of privilege were never known to relax their hold till broken?"

Has human history shown an instance to the contrary?

It will be asked, perhaps, why, if this is true, why do not the leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties appeal to the cartridge-box when defeated at the ballot-box?

Ask us something HARD; this is too easy!

Simply because the spoils-of-office system is not threatened. Simply because these great parties are twins, each trying to outdo the other in loyalty to the government-of-man-by-man system, and each has a share in the spoils. But let a party calling itself the Socialistic Labor Partv, or any such name, become strong enough to threaten the life of the spoils system by trying to substitute individual self-government, or the Co-operative Commonwealth, or any system that would mean the death of the authoritarian State—as our friend acknowledges the triumph of Socialism would mean, then if such new party were not met by enactments against treason, and by prisons and halters, and (if necessary to suppression) by cannon and bayonets—then the history of this old world would turn a leaf never turned before.

* * *

To sum up in few words:

The common interest, the common work, of both Socialists and Anarchists is the EDUCATIONAL one.

In order that this work be made efficient and thorough, free speech, free press and an untrammelled mail, are indispensable. Our common enemies, the ruling classes, are working night and day to deprive us of these indispensable means of showing to the world what Philosophic Anarchism and Scientific Socialism really mean. The utmost vigilance and diligence in regard to these citizen rights are therefore demanded of all who believe there is something better for humanity than to be tyrants, exploiters, robbers and murderers, on the one hand, or slaves, exploited, robbed and murdered, on the other.

* * *

Another work in common for Socialists and Anarchists is the work of showing how Individual Liberty and the Co-operative Commonwealth can both be achieved without resort to violence.

Whether accepting or rejecting the ballot-box, as a means of eliminating the capitalistic and monopolistic state, both Anarchists and Socialists agree that the work can be done without resort to cartridge-box, cannon, bayonet or dynamite bomb. Archists murder men, women and children by the thousands, every year, and little is said about it, but when a miscalled Anarchist at Buffalo kills one man, or when the police attack a peaceable meeting of Socialists at Chicago, and get worsted by a bomb thrown by some one unknown, then these Archists speak and act as though the right to kill is a Divine right delegated to them alone, and the whole land from ocean to ocean is filled with horror and righteous indignation at the barbarity and bloodthirstiness of all Anarchists and Socialists.

But "wisdom is justified of her children," saith the proverb. Let Philosophic Anarchists and Scientific Socialists be judged by their acts; judged by the same standards that equity shows should be applied to their slanderers, and let impartial posterity pronounce the verdict.

* * *

THE SOCIAL SIDE OF ANARCHISM.

The last paragraph in the article, "The Goal of Anarchism," to which our correspondent refers, reads as follows:

> "Even in so delicate a matter as that of the relations of the sexes the Anarchists do not shrink from the application of their principle. They acknowledge and defend the right of any man and woman, or any men or women, to love each other for as long or as short a time as they can, will, or may. To them legal marriages and legal divorce are equal absurdities. They look forward to a time when every individual, whether man or woman, shall be self-supporting, and when each shall have an independent home of his or her own, whether it be a separate house or rooms in a house with others; when the love relations between these independent individuals shall be as varied as individual inclinations and attractions; and when the children born of these relations shall belong exclusively to the mothers until old enough to belong to themselves."

* * *

In this paragraph is briefly outlined the chief difference between Philosophic Anarchists and Socialists of all grades—with few exceptions. Anarchists demand free competition, untrammeled liberty, free opportunity—in mating

for reproduction, as well as in all other phases of human relationship. They say to the Archons of church and state, "Hands off! Your touch is profanation. Give the children a chance to be born well, if born at all. Let every child be born of love and mutual respect, mutual desire. No more unwelcome children, no more unwelcome motherhood!"

Anarchists believe that under the rule of Liberty with Responsibility in sex-relations there would be less room for the claim—as made by a leading clergyman—that it is right that one man shall have fifty-times as much pay as other men, because of his superior natural ability. A few generations of natural selection—of free and responsible competition in the realm of reproduction, and the human type would approach the plane of perfection which we now see in the higher species of birds in a state of nature.

* * *

"Free Competition is diametrically opposed to the Co-operative Commonwealth," says Mr. Wilhite. I fail to see the truth of this statement. Free competition is quite consistent with voluntary co-operation. Under our improved methods of production—the result of competition more or less FREE—co-operation becomes a necessity, resulting, in the end, in the largest possible conception of voluntary co-operation—the Co-operative Commonwealth of the World!

How this is to be practicalized can only be hinted at in this article. M. HARMAN.

Good Advice for Legislators.

Before the new administration in New York city is inaugurated, all the officials should read E. C. Walker's late pamphlet "Vice: Its Friends and Its Foes," and then forward the same to members of the legislature. This is probably the only perfectly sane treatise on the subject. The author has less to say about the foes of vice than about its friends, these latter being the promoters of purity crusades, prosecutors of fallen women, the opponents of divorce, and the rigid moralists generally. He notes that the downward career of girls generally begins with a seduction, and nearly all seductions that are such in fact are accomplished under promise of legal marriage; and in this way, we are brought to observe, marriage serves to bribe and corrupt virtue. I have not seen that point before, nor this presentation of the divorce question: "A person against whom a decree is issued (says our author) is forbidden to marry again because he went outside his home. Well, if he could not keep good when he had a wife, what power on earth or elsewhere, is going to make him a celibate for the rest of his life?" If he could not resist outside temptation with a wife to help him, will he resist it when freed from her restraining influence? If we did not know that Mr. Walker means well, we might be inclined to censure him for his criticism of approved methods of making bad matters worse, as also for soaking us with conundrums that have no answers.—*Geo. E. Macdonald in Truth Seeker.*

She "Behaved Like a Lady"!

A little girl from an East End slum was invited with others to a charity dinner given at a great house in the West End of London. In the course of the meal the little maiden startled her hostess by propounding the query:

"Does your husband drink?"

"Why, no," replied the astonished lady of the house.

After a moment's pause the miniature querist proceeded with the equally bewildering questions:

"How much coal do you burn? What is your husband's salary? Has he any bad habits?"

By this time the presiding genius of the table felt called upon to ask her humble guest what made her ask such strange questions.

"Well," was the innocent reply, "mother told me to behave like a lady, and when ladies call at our house they always ask mother those questions.—*Clipping from an English Paper.*

VARIOUS VOICES.

R. O. Stoll, Eau Claire, Wis.:—I thank you for a sample copy of Lucifer. Though not in sympathy with the ideas you advocate, I ardently support freedom of press and intelligent investigation of all phases of sociology. For the enclosed 25 cents please send me Dr. Foote's "Borning Better Babies."

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LUCINDA B. CHANDLER will address the Society of Anthropology—913 Masonic Temple, Sunday Dec. 22, 3:30 p. m., Subject—Humanity.

Lucifer—Its Meaning and Purpose.

LUCIFER—The planet Venus; so called from its brightness.—*Webster's Dictionary.*

LUCIFEROUS—Giving Light; affording light or the means of discovery.—*Same.*

LUCIFIC—Producing Light.—*Same.*

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The name Lucifer means Light-Bringing or Light-Bearing, and the paper that has adopted this name stands for Light against Darkness—for Reason against Superstition—for Science against Tradition—for Investigation and Enlightenment against Credulity and Ignorance—for Liberty against Slavery—for Justice against Privilege.

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